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THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

JANUARY 1965 -- JUNE 1965



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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
John Edgar Hoover, Director

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Federal Bureau of Investigation
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PREFACE

This monograph sets forth the position the Communist Party, USA, has taken on major issues of national and international interest,

The publications reviewed to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, include the twice-weekly newspaper The Worker and the monthly magazine Political Affairs.

With reference to the transcription of the quotations used to support the summary statements at the beginning of each section, misspellings have been underlined. Nothing has been done to point out errors in grammar, punctuation, capitalization, et cetera.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Summary

The chief foreign policy objective of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), continues to be withdrawal of United States forces from Southeast Asia. Steps taken by the U. S. in South Vietnam to halt communist aggression have been characterized by the Party as naked aggression against a sovereign people, an effort to maintain an outpost for some new colonialism, a denial of the right of self-determination, a betrayal of the November election mandate, and a danger to world peace.

Action by the U. S. in the Dominican Republic has likewise been condemned by the communists. According to the Party, "The Johnson Doctrine of commitment to wage holy war with U. S. armed forces against so-called 'communist threats' the world around, is inescapably comparable with Hitler's Doctrine of Anti-Communist Crusade, and of the Manifest Destiny of the Anti-Communist Axis to 'cleanse the earth of the communist menace.'"

The Party claims that never before in all history has the United States stood so alone; that it is hated by freedom-loving people everywhere for brutality, cruelty, and the violation of morality. The Party further asserts that, although the U. S. is the mightiest imperialist

power in history, it is not big enough to stop the anti-imperialist revolution that is sweeping the world, because the divisions in the ranks of world socialism are not beyond repair.

The CPUSA continues to advocate expanded trade with "socialist" countries, admission of Communist China to the United Nations, and normal diplomatic relations with Cuba, as well as with Communist China.

Communist propaganda designed to lessen popular support for U. S. foreign policy has been directed at virtually every segment of our society. The Party press has made broad appeals to all Americans to help win "the mind of the President for peace in South Vietnam." One such appeal, for example, urged every American to participate in picket lines and demonstrations, to write or wire the President and Members of the Congress, to organize delegations to visit Washington, and above all, to involve members of churches, labor unions, civil rights organizations, neighborhood groups, and all other centers of people's activity in the struggle for the President's mind. Another such call to action proclaimed, "The hour is late.... The students have shown the way, all decent and patriotic forces of the nation must follow..."

Almost every issue pertaining to matters domestic has been related by the Party to the withdrawal of U. S. troops from South Vietnam. The Party has tried particularly to exploit the Great Society, the war against poverty, labor objectives, and the civil rights movement.

For example, the communists say that they support every facet of the Great Society concept but are convinced that the measures are not nearly far-reaching enough. They assert that a Great Society and a War Society are two opposites; that the war against poverty can die in Vietnam or on some new battlefield; and that the President's "war policy" is instigated by concern for the rich and is not in the interests of the vast majority of the American people.

The Party supports a shorter workweek, a \$2 minimum wage, increased vacation, and other labor objectives. But interspersed with various observations on the position of labor in this country today is the theme that the U.S. must withdraw from Vietnam. The Party says that escalation of war in Vietnam is the gravest threat to world peace and consequently to the interest of the working class. Labor is urged to demand an end to the "bloody business that the Johnson administration is carrying out in Vietnam." The money now spent for war, the Party suggests, could create jobs for the unemployed through the building of housing, hospitals, schools, roads, et cetera.

The CPUSA claims that it, of all the present political, religious, and labor organizations now supporting the civil rights struggle, has the longest record of continual service to this cause. While endorsing

the elimination of all forms of discrimination against the Negro people, the Party warns that the U. S. "war drive" endangers the gains of the Negro people and that they will be told to wait for their rights. The civil rights movement is urged to join with labor to raise a voice for peace.

The communists stress that Negro-labor unity is necessary. They say that the "Negro-labor coalescence" is an alliance of the oppressed and exploited and, in a sense, a political and economic community that will become the power that will determine the direction of events in this country. The American workers, the CPUSA says, are not fighting alone, since "socialism" exists in a good part of the world and people everywhere, marching toward greater freedoms, are all allies in the struggle. "Socialism" is described by the communists as a better, a more humane social system that would transform this country into a virtual paradise on earth.

B. Conclusions

1. In keeping with its objective to force United States withdrawal from Southeast Asia, the CPUSA can be expected to intensify its condemnation of U. S. foreign policy.
2. The communists will continue emphasis on a reduction in military spending by pointing out numerous benefits for the American people that could be derived from similar expenditures on other programs.
3. The CPUSA, can be expected to make further claims that it is a "necessary party that has influence on every segment of social activity in the country" and that "wherever you find struggles for progress, you will find Communists there." The repeal of the

McCarran Act and the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities remain high-priority Communist Party objectives.

4. Negro-labor unity will receive further attention, with emphasis on the theme that the objectives of workers, Negro people, educators, professionals, youth, women, and family farmers are indivisible. The communists can be expected to exploit what they describe as "the academic revolution" that "is purifying our land."
5. The Party will, undoubtedly, continue the claim that "socialism" is the greatest of all societies and that problems that give rise to the Great Society concept could be better solved through "socialism."

I. FOREIGN POLICY--The Communist Party Line

1. U. S. armed presence in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic is naked aggression.
2. Every American can play his role in winning the President's mind for peace. Now is the time to speak out--to participate in picket lines and demonstrations, to organize delegations to Washington, to write or wire the President and Members of the Congress. Labor, the whole civil rights movement, and other groups must come out against the Government's dirty war.
3. The November election obligated President Johnson to uphold world peace. The provocative air strikes against the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam are a betrayal of the election mandate.
4. The Johnson Doctrine is a return to the worst days of gunboat diplomacy for the protection of special interests of U. S. monopolists. Commitment to wage holy war against so-called "communist threats" is comparable with Hitler's "Anti-Communist Crusade."
5. Never before in all its history has the United States stood so alone. Our nation is hated by freedom-loving people everywhere for its brutality, cruelty, and violation of morality. Since the bombardment of North Vietnam, the U. S. has been the victim of a real domino effect.
6. The divisions within the ranks of world socialism are not beyond repair. U. S. imperialism is not big enough to turn back the wheels of history and stop the anti-imperialist revolution that is sweeping the world.
7. A big boost in trade relations between the U. S. and the socialist world could have the most far-reaching consequences on economic as well as social developments in our country.
8. The People's Republic of China has a rightful seat in the United Nations. The withdrawal of Indonesia from the UN does not strengthen the general struggle against colonialism and

imperialism, but it is nowhere nearly as serious for the future of the organization as the pressure by Washington against the Soviet Union and other members over dues arrears.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Naked Aggression in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic

"JAMES E. JACKSON, editor of The Worker, sent the following telegram Sunday morning to President Johnson from Chicago where he was attending The Worker's press conference:

"Bombing North Vietnam provokes general war, endangers U. S. security. Stop it. Withdraw armed forces. Respect Vietnam's self-determination."

The Worker,
February 9, 1965, p. 1.

"The world witnesses the Government of the United States opening a second front of aggression against sovereign peoples last week. As in Vietnam, the U.S. armed presence in the Dominican Republic is naked aggression. It cannot be defended on grounds of national interest or law."

The Worker,
May 4, 1965, p. 2.

"The invasion by the American Marines of the Dominican Republic under orders of President Johnson is a blatant act of imperialist intervention against the democratic peoples of that country....

"This military intervention is designed to prevent the establishment of a democratic and popular government in that republic...."

The Worker,
May 4, 1965, p. 3.

"For the past few months our country has been thrown into a state of crisis by the escalation of U.S. imperialism's aggressive war against the Vietnamese people. Now the crisis has been greatly deepened by a new act of aggression, this time against the people of the Dominican Republic. The nakedness of this invasion surpasses anything in the recent history of imperialist outrages...."

"The Dominican Invasion,"
Political Affairs,
June, 1965, p. 1.

2. Demonstrate! Picket! Speak Out! Write the President, Senators, Congressmen! End the War!

"Every American can play his role in winning the mind of the President for peace in South Vietnam--

"By participating in picket lines and demonstrations expressing the will of the people.

"By writing or wiring President Johnson, and your congressman and senators.

"By organizing delegations to visit Washington to present your demands.

"Above all, by involving the members of your church, of your union, of your neighborhood group, of your civil rights organization, and all other centers of people's activity in the 'struggle for the President's mind.'"

The Worker,
February 16, 1965, p. 6.

"It is one minute before midnight. But there is still time to force the Johnson Administration to retreat from this new exercise in brinkmanship. From every corner of our land, there must rise a powerful demand: Halt U. S. intervention in South Vietnam! Withdraw U. S. military forces from South Vietnam! The people of South Vietnam have an inalienable right to self-determination.

"This is not the time to remain silent in public and disturbed in private. This is the time to speak out!"*

"This is the Time to Speak Out!"
Political Affairs,
March, 1965, p. 3.

"ALREADY THE Washington march showed that the civil rights movement was coming to see the identity of interests of the Negro people's freedom movement with the anti-imperialist objective of ending the neo-colonialist war of the U. S. against the people of Vietnam."

"The dirty war against Vietnam enjoys the patronage and strengthens the position of every racist and chauvinist force in the Government and in our national life. Therefore, the whole civil rights movement must come out against the Government's dirty war as a part of its own struggle for freedom from racist outrage and exploitation at the hands of our society's ruling powers.

"THE HOUR IS LATE. The time for all to do something to stop the slaughter in Vietnam is upon everyone now. The students have shown the way, all decent and patriotic forces of the nation must follow, until the will of the people for peace shall be done."

The Worker,
April 25, 1965, p. 3.

*Underlined portion italicized in original.

"The escalation of the war in Vietnam as a result of the military aggression there of U. S. armed forces is the single most grave threat to the peace of the world and consequently to the interest of the American working class."

"Labor must demand an end to the bloody business that the Johnson government is carrying out in Vietnam."

"This struggle must be undertaken and accomplished by the fullest involvement of the whole labor movement, and it must be done with the utmost urgency in labor's and the nation's self-interest."

The Worker,
May 2, 1965, p. 3.

"... Peace and patriotism go hand in hand. In the name of humanity and our own welfare, we urge all our fellow Americans and fellow workers to tell President Johnson:

"We demand unconditional peace!"

"Let the peoples of these countries decide their own destiny!"

"Halt the escalation and defeat the nuclear world war danger!"

"Get out of Vietnam and the Dominican Republic now!"

The Worker,
May 18, 1965, p. 4.

"Indeed, the struggle for peace is the task of the patriot. And in these days, the struggle for peace means mass actions to compel the Government to take our country out of the dirty war in Vietnam, and, to take the Marines out of the Dominican Republic."

The Worker,
June 15, 1965, p. 7.

3. Vietnam War Betrays Election Mandate

"The November election... obligated Johnson to guarantee the full rights of the Negro people and to stop all military operations against Vietnam, the Congo and Cuba. It also obligated the president to seek friendly relations among the nations, to uphold world peace."

The Worker,
March 21, 1965, p. 2.

"Henry Winston condemned the provocative air strike which the Johnson Administration is conducting against the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam and termed them a betrayal of the election mandate of last November."

The Worker,
March 23, 1965, p. 4.

"Johnson has betrayed the mandate of the people. Instead of war against poverty, his policies have brought death in wholesale lots of destructiveness to peoples in distant lands, and the corpses of hundreds of American soldiers are counted in the costs of his foreign follies."

The Worker,
June 20, 1965, p. 3.

4. Johnson Doctrine-Gunboat Diplomacy-Comparable with Hitler Doctrine

"The path on which President Johnson has set the feet of our country, in foreign relations, has already led us into a shameless war, some 7,000 miles from here against the people of Vietnam who rose against tyranny.

"Now, he has taken the country into a war against the people of the small island of Santo Domingo.

"He has proclaimed a new doctrine: the Johnson Doctrine. This is Gunboat Diplomacy in the nuclear age.. This is the proclamation of the privilege of imperial rights to dominate small countries on the part of a big bully country in the age of anti-colonial victory."

The Worker,
May 4, 1965, p. 1.

"The invasion by the American Marines of the Dominican Republic under orders of President Johnson is a blatant act of imperialist intervention against the democratic peoples of that country. It is a return to the worst days of gunboat diplomacy for the protection of the special interests of U. S. monopolists..

"This military intervention is designed to prevent the establishment of a democratic and popular government in that republic. This again exposes our government as the protector of strongarm dictators who do the bidding of the U. S. monopolists. This is also an effort to cover up the anti-Cuban plots which are being hatched on the soil of the Dominican Republic by the CIA and anti-Castro Cubans representing the groups that have lost their privileges because of the great Peoples Revolution in Cuba."

The Worker,
May 4, 1965, p. 3.

"...The Johnson Doctrine of commitment to wage holy war with U. S. armed forces against so-called 'communist threats' the world around, is inescapably comparable with Hitler's Doctrine of Anti-Communist Crusade, and of the Manifest Destiny of the Anti-Communist Axis to 'cleanse the earth of the communist menace.'"

"Indeed, the dangerous Johnson Doctrine is wholly alien to our country's national interest. It is a policy that must be wholly repudiated or it will doom the nation and involve the world in a horrendous military holocaust."

The Worker,
May 11, 1965, p. 2.

5. Our Nation Isolated from Rest of World

"Never in all its history has the United States stood so alone as it stands today--with its imperialist aims nakedly revealed before the world."

"This is the Time to Speak Out!"
Political Affairs,
March, 1965, p. 3.

"Our country is isolated, the most hated, because the ruling class of America is obsessed by the cancer of anti-communism. One hundred billion dollars has been spent in the last 20 years in the U. S. to outlaw Communism, but the virus of anti-Communism has affected the American people more than it has hurt Communists," Lightfoot said.

"He added to this the virus of racism injected by the American ruling class, and he maintained that our nation today faces a crisis. People are starving, he said, yet Secretary of State Rusk calls on the nation to fight Communism.

"But this American ruling class hasn't offered anything better than Communism to the millions in the world, suffering and dying from hunger, disease, bombings and lethal gas."

The Worker,
April 18, 1965, p. 9.

"Our nation has become isolated from the rest of the world. It has become the pariah of the international community, hated by freedom-loving people everywhere for its brutality, cruelty and violation of morality.

"Washington has lost all its friends, even among those governments that it brought to power or kept in power by bribery, armaments or outright force. The only 'true' friend the Johnson administration now has in international affairs is the West German regime of monopolists and neo-Nazism and they could also doublecross."

The Worker,
May 9, 1965, p. 8.

"...since the United States commenced its bombardment of North Vietnam in February, 1965, it has been the victim of a real domino effect. What has indeed happened since that fateful February decision? Cambodia has severed all relations with the United States. Relations with Indonesia have deteriorated to the point where they are purely formal..."

"Opposition in Japan has reached the point where it is manifested in official circles... Anti-American feeling--not only among the masses--in the Philippines has reached a high point. The South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) is splintered beyond recognition; thus, in recent naval maneuvers held by that Organization, the two major non-American partners, Pakistan and France, refused to participate. Both powers have publicly affirmed their opposition of U.S. policy in Vietnam..."

"At the same time--and again largely because of the U.S. actions in Vietnam, aggravated by that Government's intervention in the Caribbean--the cornerstone of American post-war diplomacy, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), lies in shambles...."

Herbert Aptheker, "Further on Vietnam," Political Affairs, June, 1965, pp. 42, 43.

6. Divisions in Ranks of World Socialism Not beyond Repair

"U.S. imperialism has the greatest facilities, the largest staff, the mightiest armed forces at its disposal of any imperialist power in history. But it is not big enough. It is not big enough to turn back the wheels of history. It is not big enough to stop the anti-imperialist revolution that is sweeping the world.

"Imperialism can make its biggest miscalculation. The divisions within the ranks of world socialism are not beyond repair. The pressures of reality, the hammer blows of struggle will weld a new unity in the anti-imperialist camp. In fact this new unity is being welded now.

"It should be clear that we have a new stage opening up in the struggle against the policies of U.S. imperialism. There are new dangers. But the

main thing that stands out is the new upsurge, the new people's movement to save the United States from its present path of no return."

The Worker,
May 4, 1965, p. 6.

"...the existence of the socialist sector of the world, led by the Soviet Union, the development of the new non-aligned, independent nations of Africa and Asia; the turn to the left of center of many Latin American countries are going to make much more difficult than at any other time the conquest of the Dominican Republic by U.S. imperialism."

The Worker,
May 4, 1965, p. 6.

7. Trade with Socialist Countries

"A really big boost in trade relations between the U.S. and the Socialist world could have the most far-reaching consequences on economic as well as social developments in our country. A massive development of trade between the U.S. and the socialist countries would likewise make a dramatic contribution to the relief of war tensions. It would tend of itself to recommend a change of the terms in which the competition between the two social systems develops, from accumulation of thermonuclear weapons to a contest in the production and exchange of goods and produce. Trade will help the cause of peace."

"The pressure building up in the business community for Congress to take away foolish trade restrictions on business with the socialist countries is a good thing. It will not only profit the businessmen, but it can be the basis for employment and reemployment of thousands of our working people.

"This then is one of those issues fully in the national interest. The unions should not leave this cause purely up to the Chamber of Commerce.

"It is a national issue such as labor must take pride in leading the struggle to achieve.

"A victory here on this question will bring forth many dividends in the interest of the working class and the people of our nation as well as in the cause of world peace and friendship.

"The logic of the campaign for more trade with the socialist countries must lead its advocates to demand of Washington the early recognition of the People's Republic of China and restoration of normal diplomatic and trade relations with Cuba."

The Worker,
January 12, 1965, pp. 2, 8.

"... much of American business, and certainly all of American labor, has much to gain by the really wide expansion of East-West trade the U.S. can have if it stops its wars of conquest and adopts a business-like policy of trading with socialist countries for mutual advantages and without futile attempts to dictate their politics as a condition."

The Worker,
June 6, 1965, p. 5.

8. Indonesia, Red China, and the UN

"The offense to Indonesia and the anti-colonial cause is measured by the seating of Malaysia against the still stubborn refusal to accord the People's Republic of China her rightful seat in the UN."

"Indonesia has been demanding the dismantling of this expanded British base for armed aggression and for neo-colonialist intrigues on the part of the SEATO and NATO imperialist countries."

"The struggle of Indonesia in regard to Malaysia is a part of the general struggle against colonialism and imperialism. This is clear. Nevertheless, in our opinion, it does not strengthen the struggle for Indonesia to withdraw from the UN community of nations where the socialist states and the newly emancipated anti-imperialist African and Asian states are a steadily growing force for determining the course of world events."

The Worker,
January 17, 1965, p. 3.

"The withdrawal of Indonesia from the UN is nowhere nearly as serious for the future of that organization as is the present pressure by Washington against the Soviet Union and other members over dues 'arrears.' "

The Worker,
February 9, 1965, p. 6.

II. DOMESTIC ISSUES--The Communist Party Line

1. Without world peace, all concepts of the Great Society will be so much talk. A Great Society and a War Society are two opposites.
2. President Johnson's war policy is instigated by concern for the rich and is not in the interest of the American people. Practically the only group in the U. S. supporting the war in South Vietnam is the Republican leadership in Congress, its few fellow-travelers among the Democrats, and the ultra-rightists in the GOP outside of Congress.
3. A merging of the struggles for peace, for freedom and equality, and for a real war on poverty is most encouraging.
4. The Communist Party, USA, is a necessary political party. Its size is no measure of its influence.
5. The problems that give rise to the concepts of the Great Society would be better solved through socialism.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Great Society and War Society Two Opposites

"Perhaps the single most glaring contradiction in the President's outline of the Great Society was his silence on disarmament.

"He spoke boastfully of the \$3.5 billion saved in governmental economy last year.

"Yet about \$51 billion was spent for military expenditures at the same time and more than \$1.5 is being wasted in a brutal war that most Americans do not want. But the President promised to continue to expand the nation's treasure to achieve greater superiority in the arms race and in the war in Vietnam."

The Worker,
January 10, 1965, p. 11.

"We do not believe the measures in the Great Society concept are realistic in an economy based on war production. Without world peace, all concepts of the Great Society will be so much talk and go up in smoke. A Great Society and a War Society are two opposites."

The Worker,
January 24, 1965, p. 3.

"... Mr. President...

"How can you hope to build a new America, a Great Society, moral and democratic and clean, when you are at the time leading a colonial war, a slavery war?"

"The contradiction is too huge to be manipulated away by the cleverest political orator and flag-waver. Truth crushed to earth must always rise again."

The Worker,
May 2, 1965, p. 8.

"Washington may be more concerned about its dirty wars in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic but it is the war on poverty which the people are anxious to wage."

"The war on poverty faces the danger of never really getting started."

"It can die in Vietnam, in the Dominican Republic or some other new battlefield chosen by the President and his war hawks."

The Worker,
May 16, 1965, p. 10.

" LET US POINT OUT

"that no country--not even our rich United States--can for long have both guns and butter. If you are not one of the five million unemployed, take a look at your tax return and see how much you're paying for guns. Then figure what that money, in your pocket, could do to make family life easier.

'If you are unemployed, figure how many jobs the \$50 billion a year now spent for war could create for the building of low and middle income housing, hospitals, schools and roads... and figure, too, that if that money were spent for peace instead of war, we would all BE SURE OF A WORLD IN WHICH TO LIVE AND WORK!"

The Worker,
May 18, 1965, p. 4.

2. War Policy, Instigated by Concern for Rich, out of Step with Consensus of American People

"PRACTICALLY THE ONLY group in the U.S., and perhaps in the world, supporting continuation of war in South Vietnam and pressing for extension of the war north is the Republican leadership in Congress, its few fellow-travelers among the Democrats, and the ultra-rightists in the GOP outside of Congress."

The Worker,
February 28, 1965, p. 1.

"Following the elections those in and round the Johnson Administration apparently drew some wrong conclusions. They miscalculated on what was the mood of our people. They proceeded under the misconception of some general 'consensus' and operated under the assumption that 'promises' would be enough, interpreting the vote as a vote for 'their man.' The last few months have been a political shakedown cruise for the Administration. The events have shattered their illusions. They are now learning that the vote was not for

'their man,' but for policies the people expect 'their man' to carry out. There is no 'general consensus.' The people are demanding the fulfillment of promises."

Gus Hall, "The Mandate:
Selma and Vietnam,"
Political Affairs,
April, 1965, p. 9.

"President Johnson's war policy... is instigated by concern for the rich and is not in the interests of the American people.

"There has never been a U.S. policy, '...so out of step with the "consensus of the American people" that President Johnson likes so much to talk about. These policies are not geared to national defense, they are geared to aggression.'"

The Worker,
May 18, 1965, p. 4.

"The April 17 march in Washington when 25, 000 took part in the greatest peace demonstration ever held in the nation's Capitol, the hundreds of teach-ins, the growing united action of peace, civil rights, academic and religious groups, the dramatic protests by some of our most outstanding literary and cultural figures and the scheduled Madison Sq. Garden rally, June 8, have all combined to convince an increasing number of Congressmen that Congress is out of step with the people on Vietnam and the Dominican Republic."

The Worker,
June 8, 1965, p. 6.

3. Merging of Struggle for Peace, Freedom and Equality, War on Poverty

"One of the most heartening and promising developments revealed in the Washington action on April 17 was the unprecedented

participation of the number of young Negro men and women in the demand for peace in Vietnam and, as some observers remarked, the coming together of the struggles for peace, freedom and equality, and the real war on poverty."

The Worker,
April 25, 1965, p. 3.

"Most encouraging in the past year was progress towards... the 'coalition of conscience'--progress towards what amounts to a merging of the struggle for civil rights, the movements against poverty, for peace and for more social welfare legislation for all...."

The Worker,
May 2, 1965, p. 5.

"Countries which abide the oppression of members of their own national family are unlikely to practice justice or pursue peace in their world relationships."

"Therefore it is everywhere necessary to COMBINE the struggle for peace with the fight against injustice. In our country, we see the war against prejudice and poverty as a corollary of the struggle against war in general and for an end to U. S. wars in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic in particular."

The Worker,
June 20, 1965, p. 3.

4. Communist Party a Vital Part of American Life

"The C. P. is a movement which nurtures and grows on conditions in the U. S. We are a necessary party that has influence on every segment of social activity in the country. Our size is not a measure of our influence. We are a vital part of American life and have been contributing to it for the past 45 years."

The Worker,
March 2, 1965, p. 6.

"AT THE VERY moment the fight for the ballot in the South is on the verge of significant victories, the Government is acting to restrict the franchise further in the Tax Court in N. Y. City on March 22.

"Should the Director of Internal Revenue win his claim for approximately one million dollars in taxes and back penalties for the year 1951 against the Communist Party, the director will have unlimited power to determine which political parties will be taxed out of existence and which he will permit the people to vote for.

"No political party, large or small, has ever been taxed. Now the Director claims the right to discriminate, to decide which political parties he does not like and wishes to tax out of existence. The Internal Revenue Service attempts to hide its assumption of dictatorial powers by claiming that the Communist Party is not a political party. This flies in the face of the millions of voters who at one time or another voted for Communist candidates. It also contradicts the vigorous and consistent efforts of the Communist Party throughout the years to participate fully in the electoral process. These are efforts that have had to contend with every kind of harassment and unconstitutional law such as the McCarran Act."

The Worker,
March 21, 1965, p. 3.

"Wherever you find struggles for progress, you will find Communists there."

The Worker,
May 18, 1965, p. 4.

5. Socialism--Solution for Problems Confronting Great Society

"A new society is always a natural and logical continuation of the struggle for reforms and concessions in the old society.

"The Great Society concepts are not steps towards socialism.

"But the problems that give rise to these ideas we believe would be better resolved through socialism. The greatest of ALL societies will be socialism."

The Worker,
January 24, 1965, p. 3.

"We live in an age whose main characteristic is that the springtime of man is breaking out all over. It is the age of the ascent of socialism with its promise of abundance, and the demise of imperialism with its record of deprivation. . . ."

The Worker,
February 2, 1965, p. 2.

III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY--The Communist Party Line

1. Last November, labor cast its vote for the Johnson promise to wage war against poverty. The war in Vietnam is a betrayal of labor's election mandate.
2. The Negro-labor coalescence is a political and economic community. This community will determine the direction of events in our country.
3. Organization of the unorganized is the chief hope of the employed poor.
4. Big business and the Federal Government could exert economic pressure to force an end to the oppression and segregation inflicted on southern Negroes. Instead, big business has helped the racists by expanding in the Deep South.
5. A \$2 minimum wage would provide real ammunition in a war against poverty, and the need for a shorter workweek is now well established.
6. Socialism would transform our country into a virtual paradise on earth.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Labor's Election Mandate Betrayed

"The escalation of the war in Vietnam as a result of the military aggression there of U.S. armed forces is the single most grave threat to the peace of the world and consequently to the interest of the American working class."

"When labor went to the polls in the presidential election last November, the only vote it cast was for the Johnson promise to wage 'war against poverty.' The war in Vietnam is a criminal diversion from, and betrayal of, labor's election mandate, on the part of the Johnson administration.

"Labor must demand an end to the bloody business that the Johnson government is carrying out in Vietnam.

"This struggle must be undertaken and accomplished by the fullest involvement of the whole labor movement, and it must be done with the utmost urgency in labor's and the nation's self-interest.

"... The peoples of the world await, confidently, the initiative of the mass of the American trade union movement to add its decisive strength to the sacred cause of defending the peace of the world against the Washington War Hawks who are bent on escalating the role of the U.S. in the Vietnam war into a general war."

The Worker,
May 2, 1965, p. 3.

2. Negro-Labor Community Will Determine Direction of Events

"The Negro-labor alliance has been the foundation on which the forward direction of American life has rested for a long time, although this has not always been obvious because its influence has been indirect and without organizational forms.

"This is an alliance of the oppressed and the exploited. It is an alliance based on mutual self-interest and the oneness of the enemy...."

"As is the case with colonialism on the world scene, the ending of the system of Jim Crow has emerged as the most crucial domestic question for the United States...."

"In a sense, the Negro-labor coalescence is more than an alliance or a united front formation. It is a political and an economic community, an overlapping, interlinked unit. As the consciousness of this grows in its ranks, this community will become the power that will determine the direction of events in our country.

"On a world scale, the working class is emerging as that class on whose shoulders the future of civilization rests. Because it is the leading element in the world socialist, anti-imperialist, peace community, it is now the decisive force determining the course of world events...."

Gus Hall, "The Negro-Labor Community," Political Affairs, February, 1965, pp. 5, 7.

3. Organization Chief Hope of Employed Poor

"It is... clear that the chief hope for the impoverished employed lies in organized labor, in coming under the protection of the trade unions, and in a labor policy which seeks to constantly raise the living standards of the lowest paid as a sure means of reinforcing and safeguarding union wage scales and conditions already won.

"The organization of the unorganized employed poor looms as a major and decisive front of the anti-poverty war. For success on this front would go far to winning that war all down the line."

"The war on poverty has many fronts, but few are as decisive as that front on which the trade unions, by virtue of their very being, must be the spearhead--the organization of the unorganized employed poor."

The Worker,
May 30, 1965, p. 4.

4. Big Business Helping Racists in Deep South

"... Big business and the Federal Government have the power to exert overwhelming economic pressure to force abolition of the oppression and segregation inflicted on southern Negroes. Nationally-owned corporations dominate the Southern economy, and their officials freely pledge to integrate employment and hint at supposed behind-the-scene pressure for moderation....

"... big business has helped the racists by expanding in the Deep South. "

"BIG BUSINESS and the big business government will no more take the initiative to end segregation than to end neo-colonialism overseas. They disagree with Rev. King's proposal not, as they claim, because the boycott cannot work, but because they fear it will succeed. That minority of business firms which really support the civil rights struggle, as by refusing to buy Alabama bonds, are to be applauded. One objective of a boycott is to persuade more of them to help.

"... a really mass boycott by millions of whites and Negroes may be an effective weapon in forcing the hand of the white power centers; just as mass demonstrations and parades forced the Administration to introduce voting rights legislation. "

The Worker,
April 18, 1965, p. 5.

"Nor is the Ford alliance with racists limited to South Africa. The company announced that as part of its expansion program within the U.S., it will spend \$8,000,000 to build a 24,000 foot building addition to its aluminum foundry in Sheffield, Alabama."

The Worker,
June 15, 1965, p. 4.

5. Shorter Workweek, \$2 Minimum Wage, Increased Vacations, Decreased Workloads

"The AFL-CIO has set \$2 hourly as a national minimum. If anything would provide real ammunition in a war against poverty and a boost to the nation's economy, it would be enacting the AFL-CIO proposal into law."

The Worker,
January 10, 1965, p. 11.

"WHEN THE RICH make millions in profits, this is hailed as a great achievement. When the workers ask for a few pennies in wage increases, this is denounced as threatening the so-called 'public interest.'"

"THESE HUGE PROFITS must stimulate the 'new look' by the trade unions on the question of economic demands. Is it not a fact that the real public interest suggests that as automation takes over, the work week can and should be progressively cut from 35 to 25 to 20 hours a week--that the retirement age should progressively lower--that vacation periods should be progressively increased--and that work loads should be progressively decreased?

"It is in the very nature of capitalism that big business will never volunteer to give up one penny of its acquired loot. Therefore it is to the real public interest for the trade unions to unite their forces behind a new massive struggle that will raise economic demands to the level that corresponds to the new level of technology."

The Worker,
February 7, 1965, p. 3.

"The need of a shorter work week is now well established and is seen as an important way of protecting jobs. Along the same lines, there is a demand for earlier retirement plans, extended vacations and the like."

The Worker,
May 2, 1965, p. 6.

"Unquestionably, the steel workers are entirely justified in making demands for substantial wage and fringe increases, as well as a demand for the shorter work week. The companies are fully able to meet these demands without raising the price of steel at all.

"The companies are whipping up a great fog of misinformation to cover up the essential facts and figures. This fog must be blown away and the naked reality exposed for all to see. It is in the national interest that the steel workers win their demands. They deserve the fullest support not only of Labor, but of the whole people."

The Worker,
May 2, 1965, p. 7.

6. A Socialist U. S. A. --A Virtual Paradise

"The American workers are not fighting alone and they are not isolated. Socialism with its many benefits and examples already exists in a good part of the world. Peoples everywhere are marching towards greater freedoms, genuine independence and a better life. They are all allies in our struggle."

"Socialism, production for the people's needs and not for profit, would transform our country into a virtual paradise on earth. No country that has taken the socialist road has as yet had the advantages, the immediate possibilities that we have.

"From the very beginning each family--even on the basis of the present production levels--could be guaranteed a minimum standard of living equivalent to about \$10,000 a year.. Under socialism, by full employment, by abolition of waste, etc., this could be doubled in a very short time.

"We, like the entire world, need a better, a more humane, social system, socialism. Let us fight to win a better life now. And out of the struggles of today build towards a socialist future tomorrow."

The Worker,
March 7, 1965, p. 10.

IV. AGRICULTURE--The Communist Party Line

1. The alleviation provided to agriculture discriminates against the poorer farmers.
2. Negro farmers are victimized by capitalism and racism.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Discrimination against Small and Middle Farmers

"Help for the farmers, particularly the poor farmers, is being cut by \$537 millions, at a time when the government itself admits that the poor farmers are having a hard time. The Johnson solution for this is to drive most of the farmers off the land and into the urban areas. This has been the policy of every administration since the 1930s."

"That the cut in farm expenditures is aimed at the poorer farmers was made clear by the President, who said they would come in 'expenditures for the farm income support programs supported by the Commodity Credit Corp. and proposed legislation which will reduce expenditures for the Farmers Home Administration and the Rural Electrification Administration.'"

"Agricultural aid is cut by \$537 millions to 04.1 billions, but the direct military budget is cut only \$200 millions out of a total amount of \$50 billions, with no comparable cuts of any consequences in the other aspects of war preparation."

The Worker,
January 31, 1965, pp. 1, 11.

"...the alleviation provided to agriculture has discriminated in favor of the largest farms, and against most of the farmers, against the small and middle farmers...."

Eric Bert, "The Government and Agriculture," Political Affairs, June, 1965, p. 35.

2. Negro Farmers Victimized by Capitalism and Racism

"The Negro farmers are, like the small white farmers, victimized by capitalism; they are also the victims of the racist precipitation from the days of slavery...."

Eric Bert, "Discrimination
Against Negro Farmers,"
Political Affairs,
May, 1965, p. 58.

V. COLONIALISM--The Communist Party Line

1. U.S. imperialism supports colonialism and benefits most from it. This country is a partner in every imperialist venture--in the Congo, in South Africa, and in Latin America. It partially owns West Germany, Italy, France, Canada, Australia, Spain, Belgium, and every other capitalist country.
2. Although U.S. imperialism is a world policeman, the old colonial powers are not leaving the stage.
3. The U.S. must withdraw from Vietnam, where it is maintaining an outpost for the restoration of some new colonialism in Southeast Asia. Our Armed Forces must also withdraw from the Congo, from bases in Cuba, and from all other countries in which we have military outposts.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. U.S. Main Beneficiary of Colonialism

"... American big business has always sought to conceal its imperialist character behind the fact that the United States possesses few outright colonies. But U.S. imperialism is today the bulwark of world colonialism and neo-colonialism--of the oppression and exploitation of peoples under the cloak of nominal independence...."

"Communists and Negro History,"
Political Affairs, February, 1965, p. 2.

"What are some of the specifics about U.S. imperialism now being exposed in the glare of the world's spotlight?

"It is the most extended salient of military and economic imperialist aggression. The advance outpost of military aggression against Vietnam now being exposed and isolated is a case in point. U.S. imperialism is the center for and the support of colonialism and the main practitioner of neo-colonialism.

"It is the main beneficiary from the world's oppressive system of colonialism.

"At this moment it is the single most serious obstacle to a world in peace, it is the center of war and the drive towards war."

"It is the economic, financial center and clearing house for world imperialism. It is a partner in every imperialist venture. It is a partner in the Belgian operations in the Congo. It has a piece of the enslaved industry of South Africa. It is the dominant imperialist force in Latin America. It is part owner and master within the home industries of every other imperialist country. It is part owner of West Germany, Italy, France, Canada, Australia, Spain, Belgium--wherever there is capitalism, U. S. imperialism is there."

The Worker,
May 4, 1965, p. 3.

2. Old Colonial Powers Not Leaving Stage

"Another consideration to be borne in mind is that although U. S. imperialism is a world policeman and the chief enemy of the peoples, it is not the only enemy. The old colonial powers are not leaving the stage and are laying claim to leading roles. Vigilance against their intrigues remains a condition of the success of the struggle against neo-colonialism. It is imperative to keep in sight both the new and the old enemies, the possibility of an alliance between them, and the contradictions that are a permanent feature of the imperialist pack of wolves."

Henry Winston, "United States Neo-Colonialism," Political Affairs, February, 1965, p. 34.

"... It is becoming clearer every day that Washington is no longer able to impose the will of Wall Street imperialism on its rivals in London, Paris, Rome, Bonn or Tokyo. All these now are seeking a way to disentangle themselves from the imperialist ventures of Washington all over the world, and to

use for their own advantage the antagonism created by Washington throughout the world, particularly in the developing countries.

"One can expect these conflicts to grow. Meanwhile the national interest of the American people suffers from Washington's sabotage of the UN and its continued reliance on a bankrupt foreign policy."

The Worker,
February 9, 1965, p. 6.

3. U.S. Must Cease To Maintain Outposts in Vietnam, Congo, Cuba

"The U.S. with no vital interest in Vietnam must withdraw the vain and murderous pursuit of maintaining an outpost for the restoration of some new colonialism in Southeast Asia. Similarly, it will serve the interest of our people to bring about immediate withdrawal of our armed forces from the Congo as well as from bases in Cuba and from countries where our military outposts have been poached."

The Worker,
January 3, 1965, p. 3.

"He put the question that is being asked in anger by ever increasing millions of Americans in regard to Vietnam: 'Why are we there?' Yet, the answer he offered was no answer at all. He merely 'explained' that three Presidents before him had supported a pledge made 10 years ago to fight alleged Communism in Vietnam, and that he (Johnson) will not break the pledge.

"But the American people must certainly reject this alibi for the Government's waging of a murderous colonial war 5,000 miles from our shores against a people whose struggles for control of their country and for the exercise of their right to self-determination violate no vital interest of our country."

The Worker,
January 10, 1965, p. 1.

".... The ending of World War II signaled the beginning of the struggle against colonialism and servitude of nations to imperialist powers. In the post-World War II world the struggle of the deprived and subject peoples everywhere to be free is both universal and irrepressible."

"The finger of history points accusingly to US on the occasion of this 20th anniversary of the victory over Hitler Germany; it demands that the Johnson government withdraw the troops from the territory of the Dominican Republic and Vietnam now! If we should fail in putting an end to this doctrine of military aggression, the lesson of history from World War II is that history will not absolve us."

The Worker,
May 9, 1965, p. 3.

VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS-- The Communist Party Line

1. Communists support every measure of the Great Society concept but are convinced that the measures are not nearly far-reaching enough.
2. Federal troops must be used when and where necessary to protect the voting rights of citizens.
3. The Supreme Court decision declaring unconstitutional that section of the Landrum-Griffin Act which prohibits communists from becoming officers in trade-unions is a victory for democracy.
4. The McCarran Act is used as an instrument of harassment, compulsion, and political oppression. The indictment of the Communist Party under this Act is to create an atmosphere of hysteria for the purpose of silencing all opposition to the conduct of an unconstitutional and unjust war of aggression in South Vietnam.
5. The House Committee on Un-American Activities is the enemy of all that every decent American wants-- peace, equality, and economic security.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Needs of Today-- Medicare, 30-Hour Week, \$2 Minimum Wage, Integrated Housing and Education

"We Communists support every measure of the Great Society concept that benefits the people. We are for every measure in the struggle against poverty. We support every measure that puts an end to the system of discrimination against our fellow Negro Americans. We support every measure towards social security, including Medicare.

"BUT WE ARE critical because we are convinced the measures are not nearly far-reaching enough."

The Worker,
January 24, 1965, p. 3.

"The test today is not on the measures won through the struggle in the 1930's but on the needs of today, such as Medicare, the 30-hour week, a \$2 an hour minimum wage, full employment, better and integrated education, better and integrated housing, jobs for our unemployed youth etc."

The Worker,
March 7, 1965, pp. 3, 10.

"THE 'MEDICARE' Bill... is still far short of the comprehensive health system in operation in most developed lands."

The Worker,
April 13, 1965, p. 2.

2. Voting Rights Bill

"The March on Washington in 1963 was for a civil rights bill. Now there is need for a march to demand that the law be made good; that troops be sent to any state where the law is defied; that federal registrars be named to guarantee that every qualified person be insured the right to vote; that all sections of the bill, especially its ban on job discrimination be implemented fully and with vigor; that the drive against poverty be pressed on a much larger scale to make it meaningful."

"The urgency to send troops to Alabama is even greater now than it was during the Little Rock, Birmingham and Oxford events. They should be sent without delay and in sufficient number to enforce the Constitution of the United States and the Civil Rights Law, and to prosecute all responsible for the Selma outrages to the full extent of the law."

The Worker,
March 14, 1965, pp. 3, 10.

"Mr. President, on behalf of all American Communists, we join Americans of all political persuasions, religious beliefs and ethnic groups

in applauding your address to Congress and the American people. If its spirit and content remain uncompromised, it will rank in history as one of our nation's greatest speeches.

"We Communists pledge to do all in our power to help implement your efforts to pass a right-to-vote law at the grass roots level of America. ""

"...Citizens must be protected in the exercise of their constitutional rights. In the pursuit of this goal Federal troops must be used when and where necessary. ""

The Worker,
March 21, 1965, p. 1.

3. Supreme Court Decision Wipes Out McCarthyite Attack on Trade Unionism

"THE SUPREME COURT by a 5-4 decision on Monday declared unconstitutional that section of the Landrum-Griffin Act which prohibits Communists from becoming officers of trade unions...."

"This goes a long way in restoring the basic democratic right of the members of unions to elect their own leaders. It wipes out a reactionary McCarthyite attack on trade unionism.

"Communist trade unionists have a long, honorable record of serving their unions honestly and militantly in many leading positions.

"Union members can again elect Communists without fear of punishment whenever they are convinced it best serves their own self-interests. This is a victory for democracy. ""

The Worker,
June 8, 1965, p. 1.

4. "Scrap the McCarran Act"

"The decision of the Justice Department to retry the Communist Party for refusal to register under the malicious terms of the McCarran Act is a dangerous concession by the Johnson Administration to the discredited and infamous ultra-Right. . . ."

"The consequences of registration and the new attempt to enforce the McCarran Act have impelled the democratic forces of varied political views and associations to demand an end of that law, a halt to all prosecutions. Let the wrath and protest against such willful affront to the people's liberties be heard. An ever stronger and more vigorous, more extensive and persistent movement must make this the time to put the demand to President Lyndon Johnson and his Attorney General, to halt all McCarran Act prosecutions and dismiss all indictments and proceedings. Scrap the McCarran Act! Save the Bill of Rights!"

"Scrap the McCarran Act," Political Affairs, February, 1965, p. 3.

"The new indictment of the CP is another example of the Administration's policy of talking one thing and practicing another. The Administration talks about a policy of concensus and practices a policy of compulsion, harassment and political oppression.

"This new indictment of the CP is to create an atmosphere of hysteria and emergency for the purpose of silencing all opposition to the conduct of an unpopular war, undeclared and therefore, an unconstitutional and unjust war of aggression in South Vietnam.

"This is the use of an unconstitutional law in support of an unconstitutional war of aggression."

"The policy of aggression in South Vietnam is isolating the U.S. from all those who are for peace. This political persecution further isolates the U.S. from all who are for democracy."

The Worker,
March 2, 1965, pp. 1, 6.

5. House Un-Americans Flagrant Subverters of U. S. Constitution

"The House Un-Americans, the most flagrant subverters of the U. S. constitution in the nation's history, want to make it a crime for citizens to contact government agencies, and for a newspaper to provide information for its readers."

"The House Un-Americans are the enemies of all that every decent American wants--peace, equality for all people, economic security. Most of the nation holds the Un-Americans in contempt. They maintain their uneasy existence by intimidation and threat."

The Worker,
April 13, 1965, p. 2.

VII. ARMED FORCES-- The Communist Party Line

1. The Pentagon generals and admirals are demanding full control of the war in Vietnam. Made desperate by their failures, they are trying to shift the blame.
2. The broad masses of the people have made clear that they want the Americans to leave Vietnam, and the Americans themselves, who are made to shed their blood, have no desire to stay.
3. The Pentagon and the State Department are trying to keep the truth about Vietnam from the American people.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Pentagon Generals and Admirals Demanding Full Control in Vietnam

"THE PENTAGON generals and admirals are now demanding that President Johnson give them the full military control over decisions for the dirty war in Vietnam...."

"In the first place, as the U.S. casualty lists mount, the generals and admirals are seeking to shift the blame from themselves for the dead and wounded American soldiers in the dirty war....

"Second, the top brass are seeking to alibi for their failure to achieve victory over the South Vietnamese patriots, despite their overwhelming superiority in manpower and armaments....

"Third, they want complete power over decisions in the Vietnam war so that they can take into their own hands the government of Saigon and the few enclaves in South Vietnam still under occupation by their troops."

"Fourth, the generals and admirals have been made desperate and reckless by their failure to achieve victory in the dirty war...."

The Worker,
June 20, 1965, p. 10.

2. Americans Not Wanted and Have No Desire To Stay in Vietnam

"The broad masses of the people of the Congo, Vietnam, etc., have repeatedly and unmistakably made clear that they want the Americans to go, and the rank and file of the American 'advisors' themselves, who are made to shed their blood for no good or honorable reason, have no desire to stay."

J. M. Budish, "The Monetary-Credit Crises," Political Affairs, April, 1965, p. 59.

3. Truth Being Kept from American People

"THE SHOOTING-DOWN of two U. S. planes in the heart of Laos last Thursday brought into the open the flagrant violations for several months now by Washington of the 14-nation Geneva accord of 1962, barring outside military intervention, which the U. S. signed. The Pentagon and the State Department have been trying to keep from the American people and the rest of the world this defiance of international law and the nation's pledge, in its bombing of Laotian territory, a direct intervention.

"... The Pentagon and the State Department have been trying for weeks now to keep the American people and the world from learning that the dirty war in South Vietnam now has been extended into Laos, in direct contradiction of the pledge given that there would not be an escalation of the conflict."

The Worker,
January 19, 1965, p. 1.

"THE PENTAGON is gassing civilians in South Vietnam. Every decent American shudders with horror at these atrocities.

"The big brass in Washington tried to keep the truth about this from the nation. They gagged reporters on the spot in South Vietnam. But the truth leaked out.

"So now all Americans know that Washington has violated the Geneva Convention of 1925, which prohibits the use of gas in warfare...."

The Worker,
March 28, 1965, p. 3.

VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS--The Communist Party Line

1. Of all the present political, religious, or labor organizations now supporting the civil rights struggle, the Communist Party has the longest record of continuous service.
2. Peace abroad and equality--freedom in every sense--at home are bound together as clearly as the head and tail of a coin. The April 17 demonstration to end the war in Vietnam revealed the coming together of the struggles for peace, freedom and equality, and the real war on poverty.
3. The U. S. war drive endangers the gains of the Negro people. They will be told they will have to wait for their rights. The war in Vietnam will put an end to the war against poverty.
4. Withdraw troops from Vietnam and the Dominican Republic and send them to Alabama and Mississippi. The barbarity exists only because the Federal Government refuses to enforce the U. S. Constitution.
5. The Mississippi marchers on Capitol Hill must be the first wave of numerous interventions that the real grass-roots representatives of the people must make with their Representatives and Senators.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Communists Have Long Supported Civil Rights Struggle

"In celebrating Negro History Week, it is important to give due consideration and credit to the role played by the Communist Party during the past 35 years in the struggle of the Negro people for their freedom, particularly in the South. It was the Communist Party that forged its way into the South in the early thirties, and especially into Alabama, and forced the brakes to be applied to the lynchers' car. It was the Communist Party that led the fight to save the nine Negro youths of Scottsboro,

Alabama, first from the lynch rope and then from the electric chair, and so opened up the only real iron curtain--the iron curtain of the South, U. S. A. -- and let the whole world see how the Negro was being lynched and denied all rights as an American citizen."

John Williams, "Struggles of the Thirties in the South,"
Political Affairs,
February, 1965, p. 15.

"... we Communists support the total elimination of all forms of discrimination against the Negro people as being in the best interests of all Americans. We have been doing this for a long time and it is a record of which we are most proud. Many of our members, Negro and white, participate in various movements, whether they be for the right to vote, equal access to decent housing, equal job opportunities, or what have you."

The Worker,
March 30, 1965, p. 5.

"We Communists do not look for any special credits, but we are proud of the fact that of all the present political, religious or labor organizations now supporting the civil rights struggle, we have the longest record of continuous service, a commitment that goes back almost 50 years. We now join with the millions in hailing the victories of Selma and Montgomery and pledge to continue to participate and to give our full support until the day when Jim Crow will be no more in any corner of our 50 states."

The Worker,
April 4, 1965, p. 3.

2. Peace Abroad, Civil Rights at Home--Head and Tail of a Coin

"THE NATION is in the midst of a struggle for its soul. Index to that struggle is the degree of equality, freedom in every sense, that the Negro people win. Significant victories have been won. But the tempo, the scope of these victories, is inevitably affected by what our nation, our government, is

doing abroad. If we sear and torture and burn the people of a nation beyond our borders, the forces responsible for that will not shrink at searing and torturing and burning our own people. This is axiomatic, and dare never be overlooked.

"The two are bound together as clearly as the head and tail of a coin. There is no such thing as a policy envisaging a Paradise at home while creating a Gehenna abroad. The flames of the latter will inevitably lick at us as surely as it does at our fellow-men in other lands. To ignore that is to tempt the holocaust."

The Worker,
April 11, 1965, p. 7.

"One of the most heartening and promising developments revealed in the Washington action on April 17 was the unprecedented participation of the number of young Negro men and women in the demand for peace in Vietnam and, as some observers remarked, the coming together of the struggles for peace, freedom and equality, and the real war on poverty."

The Worker,
April 25, 1965, p. 3.

"ALREADY THE Washington march showed that the civil rights movement was coming to see the identity of interests of the Negro people's freedom movement with the anti-imperialist objective of ending the neo-colonialist war of the U.S. against the people of Vietnam.

"If there was hesitation on the score, it was quickly dispelled by Defense Secretary McNamara's 'defense' of the use of deadly gas against the inhabitants of Vietnam villages on the ground that similar gas has been used against Negroes in civil rights demonstrations in the United States.

"The dirty war against Vietnam enjoys the patronage and strengthens the position of every racist and chauvinist force in the Government and in our national life. Therefore, the whole civil rights movement must come out against the Government's dirty war as a part of its own struggle for freedom from racist outrage and exploitation at the hands of our society's ruling powers.

"THE HOUR IS LATE. The time for all to do something to stop the slaughter in Vietnam is upon everyone now. The students have shown the way, all decent and patriotic forces of the nation must follow, until the will of the people for peace shall be done."

The Worker,
April 25, 1965, p. 3.

"... neither Rusk's tortured explanations nor his attempts at derision will deflect the evergrowing lovers of peace, justice and humanity from taking up the struggle against the barbarous war of the U. S. imperialist forces against the people of Vietnam.

"The proof of this was given within hours of Rusk's speech when the Rev. Martin Luther King called to those preparing for the great freedom march to Boston Common to recognize the identity of interest in the struggle of those who would be free with the struggle to stop the aggression of U.S. imperialism with its bombings and burnings and gassings in Vietnam.

"The following Saturday, 30,000 marched in the rain in Boston for civil rights and peace at home and abroad."

The Worker,
April 27, 1965, pp. 2, 6.

3. Negro Freedom--Casualty of War in Vietnam

"As the contrast between President Johnson's vigorous action in Vietnam and his 'helplessness' in Selma shows, one of the great casualties of the stepped-up war in Vietnam is civil rights.

"It is not only that the President's pre-occupation is with military movements in Southeast Asia.

"It is not only that millions of dollars are being added to the \$2 million daily spent in Vietnam and that a large-scale war toward which we are rapidly moving will eat up a good deal of the very modest appropriations for the schools, housing and anti-poverty programs.

"The War in Vietnam will put an end to the War Against Poverty."

The Worker,
March 14, 1965, p. 2.

"Winston... pointed out that 'the U.S. war drive endangers the gains of the Negro people.'

"They will be told they will have to wait on their rights, he said."

"James Jackson, editor of the Worker, said 'In the 1964 elections more than 47,000,000 voters gave LBJ a mandate to wage one kind of war only, that is, a war against poverty and prejudice.'

"But LBJ turned his back on the people and is fighting the wrong war, Jackson added."

The Worker,
May 9, 1965, p. 4.

4. Withdraw Troops from Vietnam and Dominican Republic; Send Them to Alabama and Mississippi

"On this Bloody Sunday, the right to vote as guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution was trampled by the horses and smashed by the 'law and order' racist hoodlums in uniform. Such mad brutality is the fruit of jimcrow oppression.

"This barbarity against a people continues to exist only because of the failure and the refusal of the Federal government to guarantee the protection and enforcement of the U.S. Constitution."

"Bring the Marines back--and send Federal troops to Alabama--that is the will of the people."

The Worker,
March 14, 1965, pp. 1, 10.

"Withdraw the troops from Vietnam and the Dominican Republic and send them to Alabama and Mississippi," Winston said."

The Worker,
May 9, 1965, p. 4.

"Let the President use his full authority to halt the racist terror. Let him withdraw troops from Vietnam and Santo Domingo and send them to Mississippi."

The Worker,
June 20, 1965, p. 10.

5. No Letup in Demonstrations

"The cowardly failure of a majority of the Congress to honor the Constitution and deny the Mississippi white supremacists their usurped seats was as shameful an opening act for the 89th Congress as the silent picketline of the Mississippi freedom fighters was honorable.

"The Mississippi marchers on Congressional Hill, indeed, must become the first wave of numerous interventions which the real grass roots representatives of the people must make with their formal Representatives and Senators during this session of the Congress, if anything of enduring worth will be born out of the L. B. Johnson Message On The State of The Union."

The Worker,
January 10, 1965, p. 3.

"WE DARE NOT RELAX!

"There is no truce on the battlefield!

"There should be no letup in demonstrations, because the crucial stage of the struggle as was so well demonstrated in last year's struggle, comes after, not before a bill is introduced."

"THE PEOPLE'S guard should be up until the day the President signs a good bill, and then there will still be a struggle to make the law a reality in life. The plans discussed by the 'Coalition Conscience' and the sponsors of the 1963 Freedom March, for a Second March should be hastened in view of the faster time-table which the president has set for enactment of the bill.

"We hope that we will not hear voices now opposing a March on Washington on the grounds that it might 'alienate' support. The great march of 250,000 on August 28, 1963, was a major factor in the enactment of the Civil Rights Law.

"Meanwhile, let us not forget that despite even speedy enactment, the law will not become effective for many months. The Negro people in Selma will still be subjected to terror tactics, and every form of discrimination. Federal troops or marshals should be sent to Selma to insure the right of the Negro people there and in all Alabama, to line up at a registrar's office without being clubbed and jailed."

The Worker,
March 21, 1965, p. 3.

"There can be no let-down in the vigilance and activity of the freedom movement. All forces must rally to launch a massive voter-registration drive to realize the full strength of the Negro vote. The difficult task of sweeping into oblivion the Wallaces, Thurmonds and Eastlands--all who sought and seek to stifle democracy--and replacing them with men and women from the ranks of the people--both Negro and white--will require maximum unity of the Negro people and labor. And in the process a real assault on poverty, on economic deprivation, on job opportunity will require the further strengthening of the Negro-labor alliance to organize the unorganized, to repeal 'right-to-work' laws, to eliminate the wage differential, to achieve freedom and equality in fact and not in words.

"In addition, it is urgent, too, that labor and the civil rights movement raise their voices for peace. For the unleashing of an all-out war in Vietnam can bring to a dead halt further progress for the Negro people and the labor movement."

"Selma--And After," Political
Affairs, April, 1965, p. 3.

IX. EDUCATION--The Communist Party Line

1. The academic revolution is purifying our land. The democratic upsurge on the Nation's campuses is universal. The day of the teach-in can hardly tolerate the shackles of McCarthyism.
2. A way must be found, and soon, to replace a school system based on de facto segregation. The Negro people will not wait.
3. President Johnson says that education is our primary weapon in the war against poverty and the principal tool for building a Great Society. Yet, in his budget for a Great Society, some \$50 billion was designated for military expenditure and only an additional \$1.25 billion was requested for Federal aid to schools.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Academic Revolution Purifying Our Land

"THE 25,000 OR 30,000 young fighters for an end to U.S. aggression in Vietnam, who marched on Washington Easter weekend, were indeed the walking delegates of millions who are demonstrating and speaking out throughout the country against the Administration's outrageous war upon the people of Vietnam."

"The college campuses, both students and teachers, are setting the required pace for all other forces who constitute the coalition of conscience and concern for the norms of humanity as well as the honor of our country."

The Worker,
April 25, 1965, p. 3.

"A DEMOCRATIC REVOLT is shaking Ohio State University, a bastion of McCarthyite repression."

"The issue that triggered off the latest and most powerful wave of rebellion was the OSU administration's refusal to permit Dr. Herbert Aptheker, historian, to speak on the campus.

"Aptheker was invited to speak May 10th on 'The Civil Rights Movement: A Marxist Analysis,' by a campus group..."

"The free speech fight in Ohio State demonstrates that the democratic upsurge on the nation's campuses is universal and is now penetrating even those centers of learning still in the grip of the repression of the '50's. The day of the teach-in can hardly tolerate the shackles of McCarthyism."

The Worker,
May 16, 1965, pp. 3, 11.

"The academic revolution that has been brewing for about eight years and now is blowing through the country--with its full potential yet to be realized--is purifying our land...."

Herbert Aptheker, "Further on Vietnam," Political Affairs, June, 1965, p. 49.

2. De Facto Segregation Must Be Ended

"For New York, as is the case for most cities outside of the South, ... a way must be found, and soon, to replace a school system based on de facto*segregation. Time, and the Negro people, will not

*Underlined portion italicized in the original.

wait for the long-range and more difficult need to readjust the ghetto housing patterns upon which the segregated schools are 'naturally' based. "

Mike Davidow, "For First-Class Integrated Education," Political Affairs, April, 1965, p. 36.

3. War Spending Makes School Appropriation Inadequate

"Education, said Johnson, 'is our primary weapon in the war on poverty and the principal tool for building a Great Society.'

"But war spending is so great that he can only propose a total of \$2 billions in immediate appropriations and \$600 millions more to come with pending legislation. This \$2 billions is only \$500 millions above the 1965 education appropriation. And, to get this increase, the farmers are being robbed of \$537 millions in the budget."

The Worker,
January 31, 1965, p. 1.

"Ever since Sputnik was launched by the Soviet Union in 1957, Americans have become increasingly aware of our lagging educational system...."

"... A great debate has been stimulated: what kind of schools our children and our country require; the significance of integrated education for both white and Negro children; the need for free higher education, including colleges; and, on school subsidies for needy pupils, particularly Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican.

"The issue is, of course, far from resolved. How can it be when in President Johnson's budget for a Great Society, some \$50 billion is designated for military expenditure while only an additional \$1.25 billion is requested for Federal aid to the schools?..."

Mike Davidow, "For First-Class Integrated Education," Political Affairs, April, 1965, p. 33.

X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION--The Communist Party Line

1. The Great Society will never have a chance if the people are not protected from the mental poison and degradation of commercialism.
2. The real causes of the moral breakdown in our society are the threat of war, racism, exploitation and poverty, and urban and rural slums.
3. There is a sweet, kindly, brave goodness in the Negro that is winning the American future.
4. The peace forces should work for a wide-ranging program for expansion of cultural and educational interchange, for tourism, and for trade with the Soviet Union.
5. We should put our wonderful technological achievements at the service of mankind. They represent the achievement and labor of the many. Full enjoyment by the many can be realized only in a socialist U. S. A.
6. The President probably would not have found it so easy to get the Congress to vote for an additional \$700 million to extend the war in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic if the communities had been mobilized to participate in the war on poverty. It is time for religious and other groups to take a hand in determining the conduct of the war.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Commercialism and Mental Poison

"I have a hunch half the sick people of New York rapidly recovered their health during last year's newspaper strike that lasted several months. What a dose of brain poison Americans imbibe in their daily paper, along with the morning ham and eggs.

"The human mind needs healthy, creative food to keep it healthy and creative. Or would you say he is better fed on this newspaper diet of endless murder, rape, gangsterism, movie blondes with silly faces and big hair-dos and the like?

"The citizens of ancient Greece in her intellectual glory were fed the tragedies of Aeschylus, not the daily dose of sensational sadism and rape, reported by slaving hacks of TV and Press.

"The Great Society President Johnson sees in a vision as a radiant skyscraper will never have a chance to reaching even first floor if the people are not first protected from all the mental poison and degradation of commercialism. It must go, if our culture is to live. Will our President have the guts to buck the great monopoly of the commercials?"

The Worker,
January 10, 1965, p. 5.

"... literature, radio, movies, television... the subject of 'no small' discussion for a long time, and little, if anything, has been done about it. If anything, the blight has gotten worse. Johnny may have trouble learning to read, but these merchants of pornography and violence take care of that. Illiteracy is no barrier."

"... The visual art of television bears its own sinister cargo. It is scarcely a comfort to reflect that we now have Early Bird satellites up there that can beam Jack-the-Ripper anywhere on the globe....

"... I do not believe this topic is a take-it-or-leave-it matter and that it has no urgent bearing on the shape of our lives. I believe it is central to our time, and that we have here a crisis in our national morality."

The Worker,
May 30, 1965, p. 7.

2. Decadence and Moral Breakdown

"... There are conflicts in American life involving increasing numbers of people. There is decadence and a struggle against decadence. There are masses of exploited people--workers, farmers, itinerant laborers--and there is the special and brutal exploitation of the Negro people and other minorities."

"It seems evident that the members of the middle class--clerks, administrators, employees of service industries, farmers, salesmen, members of the arts, sciences and professions--have lost the 'virtues' which characterized their class at an earlier stage of capitalist development...."

"... real and deep-going crisis in American life. The crisis is not due to the passivity of people, but to their irrepressible activity. The portrait of the American as a bumbling neurotic is false. It is not even true of the intellectuals who exploit their own neuroses for practical compensation. There is a moral break-down in our society, but it has real causes--in the threat of war, racism, exploitation and poverty, urban and rural slums--and it has real and complicated effects on personal behavior, including the behavior of intellectuals."

John Howard Lawson, "'Decadence' in American Culture," Political Affairs, March, 1965, pp. 32, 34.

3. Negro's Goodness Winning American Future

"I BELIEVE there is a special goodness and kindness in most Negroes that derives from their special suffering. It is illustrated best, I believe, in the masterly drawings of Charles White and the epic novels of John Killens.

"Both of these young masters come from the loins of the people, and deep in their bones have a knowledge of and love for their peasant families, and the lives which their ordinary working folk live."

"Most representative writing and art in the capitalist West has become fixed on the portrayal of human evil, as if his 'original sin' (the apple of Adam and Eve) is the main truth of human nature.

"It is almost impossible for a writer to portray goodness without feeling self-conscious and naive. But the Charles Whites and John Killens' make the goodness of their Negro families so heroic, so simple, so pure that it becomes a new esthetic experience as well as a moral truism that points the way for the art of all humanity, white and black, American as well as Russian and Chinese.

"Goodness is all--there is a sweet, kindly brave goodness in the Negro that is winning the American future, that cannot be stopped by assassin bombs or racist gunshots. Negro liberation is near in America. World peace is on the horizon. We cannot despair. The day of the people is here..."

The Worker,
February 9, 1965, pp. 4, 7.

4. Peace Forces Should Work for Soviet-U. S. Trade and Cultural Exchange

"We think that this Johnson call for an enlarged dialogue with the leaders and people of the Soviet Union should be taken up by the peace forces and elaborated into a wide ranging program for a dramatic expansion of cultural and educational interchange, for increasing tourism, and for eliminating discriminatory barriers to the growth of really big scale trade with the Soviet Union as well."

The Worker,
January 10, 1965, p. 1.

5. Socialist U. S. A. and Epoch of Technology

"THE LONG-RANGE public interest demands that we take these wonderful technological achievements and put them at the service of mankind. The total of these huge profits and the production of goods in great quantities represents the achievement and labor of all of our people. With the exception of the few parasitic rich, the people as a whole have all contributed in one way or

another to this mass production of goods. It is as natural as day follows night that this social achievement of the many should be used and enjoyed by the many. Therefore, the long-range public interest of the epoch of this new technology can only be realized by a socialist U. S. A."

The Worker,
February 7, 1965, p. 3.

6. Time for Religious and Other Groups To Help Determine Conduct of War

"Is there any doubt that if the communities were mobilized to participate in the war on poverty that the President would have hardly found it so easy to get Congress and the U.S. Senate to vote for an additional \$700 million to extend the war in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic?"

"It is time for the poor, the communities, labor, civil rights, and religious groups to take a hand in determining the conduct of this war."

The Worker,
May 16, 1965, p. 10.

XI. WOMEN--The Communist Party Line

1. Women's organizations, the youth, and the civil rights movement see the need to combine the fight for their special needs with the struggle to end the war in Vietnam. The various groups, including also educators, workers, small farmers, and professionals, see their objectives as indivisible.
2. The militant tradition of Negro womanhood should be embraced by all American women. White women need the abilities and leadership participation of Negro women in joint common struggle.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Women and Other Groups See Struggle for Civil Rights, Social Welfare, and Peace as Indivisible

"The escalation of the war in Vietnam as a result of the military aggression there of U.S. armed forces is the single most grave threat to the peace of the world and consequently to the interest of the American working class.

"Already the masses of Americans are actively joining the struggle to compel a halt to the war that the U.S. is waging against the people of Vietnam. The youth, the women's organizations, and the civil rights movement see the need to combine the fight for their special needs with the struggle to end the war in Vietnam."

The Worker,
May 2, 1965, p. 3.

"Most encouraging in the past year was progress towards... the 'coalition of conscience'--progress towards what amounts to a merging of the struggle for civil rights, the movements against poverty, for peace and for more social welfare legislation for all. Basically, it is the same active groups of the population--workers, Negro people, educators, professionals, youth, women, family farmers--who see all those objectives as indivisible. And 'we shall overcome' is the common theme song."

The Worker,
May 2, 1965, p. 5.

2. Militant Tradition of Negro Womanhood

"THE RICH, vibrantly militant tradition of Negro womanhood should be claimed and embraced by all American women. For white women need the abilities and leadership participation of Negro women in joint common struggle. And countless Negro women heroines walk across the pages of American history. Among them:

"Deborah Gannett, the only woman to fight as a soldier in the American Revolution.

"Harriet Tubman, who returned 19 times to the South to lead some 300 slaves along the Underground Railroad to freedom....

"Margaret Garner, fugitive slave, who killed her daughter when they were caught near Cincinnati so 'she would never know what a woman suffers as a slave.'....

"Lucy Parsons, who until she died at 80 devoted her life to selling at union meetings the eloquent speeches and farewell speeches of her husband and his four fellow labor leaders who were framed and killed for their labor activities."

The Worker,
February 9, 1965, p. 7.

XII. YOUTH--The Communist Party Line

1. Funds for a massive job corps can be obtained by a \$20 billion reduction in the arms budget.
2. Youth, the first to die in war, believe that war will be conquered when those who want peace march in the streets as have those who want civil rights.
3. Student marchers have shown the way; all decent and patriotic forces of the Nation must follow until peace is achieved.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Reduction in Arms Budget To Expand Youth Conservation Corps

"... The Youth Conservation Corps (YCC) proposed by Congress is patterned after the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) won during the 1930's except for the startling fact that the CCC reached about 500 thousand in size while the YCC limit is set at 60 thousand. With millions of additional youth swamping the job market by 1970, the government's YCC would, operating at full capacity, relieve fewer than three percent of this jobless multitude !

"The funds for a massive job corps can readily be obtained by a \$20 billion reduction in the arms budget."

The Worker,
March 14, 1965, p. 8.

2. First To Die in War--Yearn for Peace

"... on the eve of this May Day--our perennial day of promise--I do feel that the currents for peace will swell greater than the Mississippi flood-waters and sweep the evil handiwork of the warmakers into the sea.

"It is not an idle hope. I did go to Washington and I did see the spokesmen of the American youth in assembly for peace....

"...Who can yearn more for peace than those who die first in war?..."

"WHAT I saw in Washington was the representative vanguard of a new generation. The first to die who are already dying, far away from home. They marched before the White House; they marched before the Capitol. They are marching in their hometowns, and they are speaking against war in volumes rarely, if ever, equalled before.

"...They believe, as Dagmar Wilson, valiant head of Women Strike for Peace, that war will be conquered when those who want peace will go down into the streets and march like those who have marched for civil rights."

The Worker,
May 2, 1965, p. 7.

3. Student March Shows Way To Stop War in Vietnam

"THE 25,000 OR 30,000 young fighters for an end to U. S. aggression in Vietnam, who marched on Washington Easter weekend, were indeed the walking delegates of millions who are demonstrating and speaking out throughout the country against the Administration's outrageous war upon the people of Vietnam."

"THE HOUR IS LATE. The time for all to do something to stop the slaughter in Vietnam is upon everyone now. The students have shown the way, all decent and patriotic forces of the nation must follow, until the will of the people for peace shall be done."

The Worker,
April 25, 1965, p. 3.

"...James West, Illinois Communist spokesman..."

"...cited the example of the Washington march of American students and youth on April 17th, and the many local marches throughout

the country that same day demanding a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam war as the kind of patriotic activities which, if multiplied and sustained tenfold over, could and would win peace and peaceful coexistence."

The Worker,
May 18, 1965, p. 3.